1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *mãriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñanechew* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchimallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *kolué*.[n]

[n] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931a, p. 72.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. House stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried . . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[34]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[35] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kütralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *wʉmel afken*, or *karkul afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *renü* with which they were formerly associated.[36]

[34] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[35] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama.

[36] Housse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gusinde lists

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[774] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened by this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Coñaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 060

> There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 370-374).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

In the early days the body was wrapped in a hide after death; in more recent times, in a homewoven blanket; at present, it is dressed in the person's own clothes. While waiting for burial, formerly, the body rested on a platform of poles built for the purpose. Just before burial it was placed between the halves of a hollowed-out tree-trunk section, known as a wampu. Today a body rests on the platform used as a bed, and is buried in a coffin. 764

Formerly, the day of burial depended on the status of the person: commoners were kept one or two days after death; important persons, three or four days. The body of a cacique was sometimes kept five or six days, depending on the time when people from all surrounding areas, expected for the burial, had arrived. 764 766

Whether depositing a corpse in a cave dates back to early days was not known to informants. "I have seen human bones in many caves," said an old informant. "When I was young I heard old people say that whenever the army was chasing our people there was no time to bury the dead in graves; that a corpse was wrapped in a hide at such times and laid into a cave; that never before that time were people laid in caves." Saiko had seen the remains of burials in caves in many places, and also on rock shelves under rock shelters. Skeletons found in caves are in supine position, as are those found in burials everywhere, he noted. He had been present at excavations, including those of Araucanian graves, in many areas of the Araucanian country, and had himself dug sites of old Indian burial places. In the oldest burials, he observed, stones are found around, under, and above the skeletons; in later burials skeletons are found in wampu. He had seen no urn burials, nor any in which the body was in flexed position. All burials, he said, faced the rising sun. Burials today, with few exceptions, are in cemeteries. 764

Formerly, food, the deceased person's clothing, and all things considered his personal belongings were put into the wampu and buried with the body. "Always a woman's spindle, her silver ornaments, the ollas in which she stored her personal things, and her clothes," were buried with her, noted a 70-year-old woman. A listening-in woman added, "If a man had a trutruka, it was buried with him; and the kultrun was buried with the machi to whom it belonged." A man's silver-ornamented bridle and saddle were placed on his favorite horse, the horse shot at the place of burial, and both the rider's gear and horse were buried with the man. If the man owned other silver things, these too were buried with him. No food was brought to the place of burial after interment. Today the clothes of the deceased are buried in a place so far from the dwelling that the place cannot be seen.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun

796 The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements [178] have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history